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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 4, 1980

Executive Registry

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SECRET ENCLOSURES

The Honorable Stansfield Turner  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D. C.

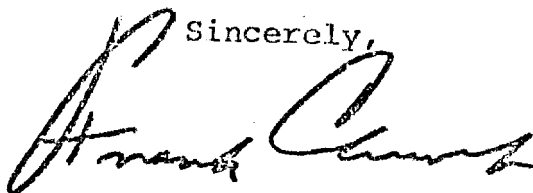
Dear Admiral Turner:

I refer to my letter of March 21 enclosing  
galleys of Volume X of the Foreign Relations Com-  
mittee's "Historical Series."

Although no CIA witnesses testified at the meeting  
on August 12, 1958, I would appreciate the Agency's  
review of the enclosed galleys for that date and your  
advising me if there is any objection to their publi-  
cation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Frank Church  
Chairman

Enclosures:

Galleys 605-608

SECRET ENCLOSURES

**SECRET**

NEW ODD PAGE

**605—PENT-SECRET—605****RADIO LIBERATION**

[Editor's Note.—During the 1950's the Central Intelligence Agency funded a number of anti-Communist communications projects, among them Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation (which became Radio Liberty in 1961). Staffed largely by exiles from Eastern Europe and soliciting public contributions, these ostensibly were private organizations. The American Committee for Liberation, which sponsored Radio Liberation, operated a powerful shortwave radio transmitter to broadcast to the Soviet Union in Russian and 17 other languages.

In 1971 Senator Clifford Case (R-N.J.) ~~unveiled~~ the CIA's secret support of these stations; and in 1973 President Nixon signed into law a bill separating the appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty from the CIA and placing them under the supervision of the International Broadcasting Board.]

*disseminated*

Tuesday, August 12, 1958

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a.m., in Room F-53, U.S. Capitol, Hon. Theodore Francis Green (Chairman) presiding.  
Present: Chairman Green, Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Wiley, Smith, and Capehart.

Also present: Messrs. Macey, Holt, Valeo, Henderson and St. Claire of the Committee Staff.

Mr. Macey. Mr. Chairman, I could perhaps check one thing with the Committee now if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. That might be a good idea.

Mr. Macey. It will take just a moment on the background. Several years ago the U.S. Information Agency started to set up a Voice of America transmitter in North Carolina. This was commonly referred to as Baker East.

The purpose of this transmitter was to transmit to the Soviet Union. The project was never completed, but at that time a large sum of money was invested in transmitters.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. Macey. By the U.S. Information Agency. Now those transmitters have been declared surplus and the GSA, the General Services Administration, is proposing to sell these transmitters.

**A CIA OPERATION**

Now they propose to sell these transmitters to Radio Liberation, and Radio Liberation is a radio operation which is conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency.

In accordance with existing terms of law, whenever a sale of this kind is contemplated, it is reported to the Government Operations Committee of the Senate.

This proposed sale has been reported to the Government Operations Committee of the Senate, but the CIA people have been unwilling to tell the Government Operations people the purposes to which the transmitters are to be put. The result is that Senator McClellan has written a letter to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in which he says that the Committee has requested the General Services Administration and CIA "to determine whether or not this equipment may be utilized by the U.S. Information Agency in connection with an installation in North Carolina."

He also says that the Senate Committee on Government Operations has notified General Services Administration that it objects to this sale until approval has been received from the Armed Services Committee and from the Foreign Relations Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this Central Information?

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**SECRET**  
**606—PENT—SECRET—606**

Mr. MARCY. CIA is the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Government?

Mr. MARCY. That is of the Government, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These are just different Departments of the Government.

Mr. MARCY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. No outsiders?

Mr. MARCY. What really is involved here is a sale from USIA, which is our U.S. Information Agency to Radio Liberation, which is a secret Government-sponsored operation which is paid for by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Now that fact has not been communicated to the Government Operations Committee of the Senate.

I have rather a lengthy file here justifying this sale.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a question of whether it is a sale from one Department to another.

Mr. MARCY. That is correct.

**KNOWN AS A PRIVATE OPERATION**

The CHAIRMAN. And are they trying to cheat each other?

Mr. MARCY. No, I do not think there is any cheating involved. The only thing is that Radio Liberation is not known as a Government Agency. It is known as a private operation.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. MARCY. By the public at large, by the world at large. Radio Liberation is supposed to be a group of intelligent American citizens who are trying to liberate people behind the Iron Curtain.

As a practical matter it receives its funds from the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CHAIRMAN. Then legally is it a Government Agency?

Mr. MARCY. Yes. When you say "legally" in the subversive legal sense it is, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose someone should bring a suit against them?

Mr. MARCY. Well, I suppose if it were fought out in the courts that Radio Liberation would look like a private philanthropic organization, a private organization engaged in broadcasting behind the Iron Curtain.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it just a partnership or is it a corporation?

Mr. MARCY. Senator, it is operated by what is called the American Committee for Liberation. I do not see any indication in its title that it is an incorporation.

The CHAIRMAN. It makes a lot of difference as to what its legal status is.

Mr. MARCY. I do not think it does for this particular operation, for this particular transaction. I think the main question is whether this Committee wants to approve or indicate that it has no objection I would say to Radio Liberation purchasing these transmitting facilities from U.S. Information Agency, which has been declared surplus.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of the members of the Committee any views on the subject?

**ISSUE FOR OTHER COMMITTEES**

Senator MANSFIELD. The question I have is what does this Committee have to do with that when CIA has all its dealings with the Armed Services and the Appropriations Committee?

Mr. MARCY. I think that is a good question.

Senator FEIBRIGHT. I hesitate to take responsibility for it myself, wouldn't you?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would refer it to the appropriate Committees on Appropriations and Armed Services. It is in their bailiwick.

Senator SPARKMAN. Is that on this agenda?

Mr. MARCY. No, sir.

Senator SPARKMAN. The CIA sent it to us?

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**SECRET**  
**607—PENT-SECRET—607**

Mr. MARCY. No, this was sent to us by Senator McClellan who wants the views of this Committee as to whether this Committee has any objection to USIA selling two 500 kilowatt transmitters to Radio Liberation.

Radio Liberation is an instrumentality of CIA.

Senator MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I would move that this Committee take no action but that it be referred back to Senator McClellan with the suggestion that he contact the Committees ordinarily connected with the functions of the CIA.

Mr. MARCY. I might add, Mr. Allen Dulles telephoned this morning and he said he had a deep personal interest in this matter.

He hoped very much that the Committee would have no objections to it. He said that Radio Liberation belonged to them "lock, stock and barrel" and that if at any time the USIA ever wanted these transmitters back, he would be sure that they would come. I said this was coming up rather late in the session and he said, well, if necessary, he would be glad to appear before the Committee himself.

**NOT WASH OUR HANDS OF THE CIA**

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, it is proposed that we wash our hands of it as it is—

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to say just a word about that. I am not sure we ought to wash our hands of CIA.

Now I realize that we have been buffeted but I am rather of the opinion that we ought to keep a claim. I think we have something to do with CIA, and I think we ought to have more to do with it.

It seems to me that this would indicate that we want nothing to do with CIA. I do not feel that way myself. I feel that CIA's attitude has been wrong and we ought to have a lot to do with CIA.

Senator MANSFIELD. I do not find fault with that argument. The only thing is that you do have two subcommittees within Armed Services and Appropriations whose job it is to maintain liaison with CIA.

Senator SPARKMAN. My thought would be that instead of our just having nothing to do with it, would be to pass it back to them with the statement that we have no objections, but that it should be referred to those committees.

Senator MANSFIELD. That would be all right.

Senator SPARKMAN. Frankly, I did not know that Radio Liberation belonged to CIA. I thought it was a private operator like Radio Free Europe.

**SUBJECT OF MCCARTHY ATTACK**

Senator MANSFIELD. Carl, you talk about this East Baker outfit in North Carolina. Wasn't that one that [Senator Joseph R.] McCarthy raised hell with 3 or 6 years ago and forced the USIA to quit doing anything and is now before the Appropriations Committee asking for 25 million dollars to put it in operation.

Senator FULBRIGHT. That is the same one.

Mr. MARCY. I do not know about that but Baker East never went through because of objection at that time.

Senator MANSFIELD. There was a Baker West too.

Mr. MARCY. Yes.

Senator MANSFIELD. I would second Senator Sparkman's motion.

Senator SPARKMAN. I would send it back with the statement that we have no objection but with the suggestion that it should be referred to those two subcommittees.

Senator SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I could not quite hear that. I am not quite clear what this issue is.

I'm sorry I was a little late but I was detained for a minute. I am very much interested in the USIA.

**SOVIET DOMESTIC VULNERABILITIES**

Mr. MARCY. The Government Operations Committee of the Senate has asked the advice of this Committee and of the Armed Services Committee with respect to a proposed sale of two 500 kilowatt transmitters from USIA where they have been declared surplus to Radio Liberation, and Radio Liberation is the underground voice of the Voice of America.

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**608—PENT-SECRET—608**

Mr. Allen Dulles said this morning that Radio Liberation was an instrument of the United States lock, stock and barrel and I have here a statement indicating that kind of thing. I might just read one paragraph:

As an unofficial arm of U.S. policy, Radio Liberation is distinguished from the Voice of America in that it is the primary responsibility of Radio Liberation to exploit Soviet domestic vulnerabilities, to carry out U.S. objectives vis-a-vis the Soviet Union from the standpoint of the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. The Voice of America, as an official organ of the United States Government must take care to avoid charges of U.S. interference in internal Soviet affairs.

There are some very important policy statements in this paper along the same lines.

Senator SMITH. The USIA is getting rid of this and <sup>Radio</sup> U.S. Liberation, which is CIA, is taking over, that is the point.

Mr. Mancy. That is the point. I might read one other sentence because of its interest.

Having concluded that the Soviet regime is not presently in danger of revolutionary overthrow in spite of many actual and latent internal difficulties, and that the forces currently at work in Soviet society are erosive rather than explosive, the U.S. Government has directed Radio Liberation to seek out and to catalyze the existing and potential dissatisfactions of the various strata of Soviet society within the Soviet system.

Senator SMITH. John, what is your specific suggestion?

#### REFER TO APPROPRIATIONS AND ARMED SERVICES

Senator SPARKMAN. My suggestion was that we report that we have no objection, but suggest that it be referred to the Subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee and the Armed Services Committee having jurisdiction over the CIA or having contact with them.

Senator SMITH. I think that is a good disposition of it.

Senator MANSFIELD. Question.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is that made by Mr. Mansfield as amended by Mr. Sparkman, the amendment having been accepted.

All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Contrary-minded, no.

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. It is so voted.

[The committee next approved 62 sundry appointments and promotions in the Foreign Service.

On motion by Senator Fulbright, supported by Senator Capehart, the committee, on voice vote, adhered to its first decision to keep its main offices in the Capitol building, and the staff instructed to prepare a letter for the Committee on Rules and Administration to such effect.

Passed over on the agenda were S. 2873, "To amend section 207 of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, to provide for the restoration of certain property rights"; and S. Con. Res. 97, "Relative to efforts to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world."

S. Res. 357, "Favoring an international conference of free nations to consider European refugee problems," was postponed by voice vote, on motion of Senator Fulbright, seconded by Senator Capehart.

S. 4214, "For the relief of Mary F. C. Leute, widow of Joseph Henry Leute," was ordered reported by voice vote, on motion of Senator Fulbright, seconded by Senator Sparkman, without amendment.

S. 3944, "To authorize the negotiation of a compact between the State of Minnesota and the Province of Manitoba, Canada, for the development of a highway to provide access to the northwest angle in such State, was unanimously ordered reported without amendment.

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